

TO THE
FREEHOLDERS
OF
ENGLAND.

*Nec vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda moneret,
Hos mihi prädixit luctus, nec dira Celano.*

Printed in the Year 1714.

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I Am firmly persuaded that there is not in their way a better Sett of Men, generally speaking, than the Freeholders of *England*. They are a brave, open, plain, and direct People, and when fairly left to themselves to chuse their Representatives, always chuse such as are, or appear to be, true Friends to their Country. I could instance several Elections formerly, and one or two in the last Reign, where the Temper of the People, without any Assistance or Countenance from Court or Treasury, carried it for Honest Men under great Temptations to the contrary; and I cannot recollect one bad Parliament, but may be easily accounted for from the Electors being Bribed, and notoriously tamper'd with, from false Returns made by Sheriffs and other Officers, or, lastly, from some extravagant Prejudices fattered and cultivated among the People, who wanting proper Means of Information, are obliged to take Things at second Hand, and are therefore liable to gross Mistakes.

As the Case now stands, the honest Part of the Nation is to wrestle with each of these Disadvantages in a higher degree than perhaps was ever known; and we can scarce expect Things will take a happy Turn, unless all true *Englishmen* will open their Eyes to the Danger they were lately in, and from which they have been rescu'd by his Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne, recover their old Spirit, and exert their Zeal for the Constitution and Government at the ensuing Election of Members of Parliament. Nothing is omitted by the Enemies to the *Revolution*, and *Protestant Succession*, to poison the Country; and 'tis the Duty of every Loyal Subject to do what he can, to provide an Antidote. Not that there is wanting a good Disposition in the People all over the Kingdom, who seem resolv'd not to be influenc'd by the Clamour of the corrupt Part of the Clergy, and the disaffected Gentry. They were too much alarm'd at the late Posture of Affairs, to forget who were the Men that brought them into it, and who the Men, that next under God and our King, are now securing us against such another. However, I do not know how, there is a Defect somewhere; the *Tories* outdo the *Whigs* in Industry, and are more active and bold in inventing Falshoods, than we are in publishing Truth.

They go on securely without Fear or Remorse, and notwithstanding that the Scheme form'd by the late Managers, and the Chiefs of the High-Church Party, to introduce the *Pretender*,

der, is confess'd by one of the *Prime* of em, and is hinted at in the C in the Impostor's Declaration, and *Lesley's* Letter, yet do they not de now affect an extraordinary Concern for the Preservation of the Church and State. They talk loudly of it in their Clubs My En and Coffee-houses, and have thereby made an Impression on narrow those bigotted Minds, who might be better inform'd, if they e what would be pleas'd to hear what is said on the Side of the Govern- hope a ment. The Press swarms with their monstrous Forgeries; but lack up they never attempted one single Proof, only a Parcel of Inve- and in t ctives and Libels against those who had no Crime to answer it to be for, but too great Lenity when in Power, and too great Neg- is an A lect of themselves. Faults indeed that could never justly be im- at Gove puted to the Tories. The Sheriffs, and other Officers, throughout Libe the several Boroughs and Counties, at the El ction of the two the Cho last Parliaments, were almost, to a Man, Men for their Pur- top at th pose, who knew their Business, and were to be confided in, as a be Pensions, Places, Lyes, Threats, Promises, Entertainments, uice or A were every where employ'd, to corrupt Mens Affections, and glorious mislead their Judgments. Boroughs were rated at *York-Build- nable a ings* and *Golden-Square*, and those that would purchase one at should be the Price of Honour and Conscience, were sure to be recom-emand mended; nor were there wanting enough of that Stamp, to urce, b make up a Representative to their Mind. emption

The best Gentlemen in *England*, who had stood the Heat of standing the Day for five or six and twenty Years, were oppos'd'ower of every where by obscure and indigent Persons, who cry'd aloud the Fri for the Land-Interest, tho', God knows, they had the leastnd Prob Share in it. Each Election was a Sort of Campaign, wheremay hop Men were to fight *pro aris & focis* for Hereditary Right anding at l the Protestant Succession. The Tory-Faction was a real Hydra, re enjoy a thriving Enemy, that daily got new Recruits, and gain'd I must upon Contest. The Peace Abroad, which had dissolv'd the the kewar Confederacy, and turn'd the Balance of Power on the Side of some am the House of *Bourbon*, furnish'd the Tories with Forces to carry est Prin on the War with Advantage at Home; and when, by their ut yet r Misrepresentation of Things and Persons, they had acquir'd a vast du shal Acquisition of Power, they were in Hopes to compass their housand Schemes so long projected for the Destruction of Liberty and *Candi* Property in *Great Britain*. They had, as they boasted them- in. A selves, the Game in their Hands; and, to do them Justice, ence, k they acted like Men in Earnest, who were resolv'd to play it, *Tis* to the Purpose. um. A

Such were our then Circumstances, and let us inquire a lit- wity, a tle into what they are now, and that with the Impartiality be- undable coming Truth and a good Cause. I am resolv'd not to meddle- utes utn with

with the Characters of particular Persons, a Field in which I do not delight, farther than the Subject will necessarily lead me.

My Endeavour shall be to bring what I have to urge, into as narrow a Compass as I can, that every candid Reader may see what Foot we were and are upon, what it is we have now to hope and fear, who those are from whom we may expect an Attack upon our Constitution, who are the likeliest Persons to stand in the Gap to defend it, and consequently, who deserve to be chosen Members of the ensuing Parliament. Nor is this an Affair of small Importance: The establishing the present Government, and with it the Security of our Religion and Liberties for ever, depends, in a great Measure, on the Choice of the next Representatives. If we make a wrong step at this Juncture, all the Nations upon Earth will look on us as a besotted incorrigible Race of Men, not worth Deliverance or Assistance. On the contrary, if there should happen a glorious Conjunction of a loyal Protestant Parliament, and a able and faithful Ministry, such as the present. If the one should be as ready to settle the Constitution, as the other to demand it. The *Faction* for the Pretender can have no Resource, but must be baffled and ruin'd beyond Possibility of Redemption. For I have too good an Opinion of the Understanding of the Whigs, to think they will ever put it in the Power of their Enemies to endanger the Constitution hereafter. If the Friends to it succeed, as, according to all human View and Probability they will, the late Tory Parliament was, we may hope the last they will have; and we shall all have not much at Heart, but the Continuance of the invaluable Blessing we enjoy in his Majesty's most gracious Government.

And I must own, I cannot without great Indignation observe the weak, warm, indolent, cowardly, lazy, and narrow Tempers of some among us: To their Shame be it said, they profess the noblest Principles, nay, and are really honest in their Inclinations, yet yet relinquish the Cause out of Timorousness or Avarice. You shall therefore hear Men of such a Composition make a thousand trifling Excuses: One will tell you, *That his standing Candidate signifies nothing, that there will be enough without him.* Another will cry, *He will not be at the Trouble and Expence, he does not know who will thank him for't.* A third will say, *'Tis a Folly to stand, the Clergy will carry every Thing before him.* A fourth will pretend, *He is afraid of too great a Majority, and would rather have a motley Parliament,* with other incredible Speeches to the same Purport. Whereas not to exert himself utmost in a Case of this Nature, is almost as blameable as

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an Overt-Act against ones Country. Although the Crime not so unnatural, it is to all Intents as prejudicial; and is this, as in High Treason, whoever doth not what in him lies to discover and prevent the Treason he knows is hatching, in the Eye of the Law, which is grounded upon the Reason the Thing, as guilty as the principal Offender; or, at best, adjudg'd guilty of what the Lawyers call Misprision of Treason. So that admitting the Comparison, those, who stupidly submit to the *Jacobite* or *Tory* Faction, without exerting their Abilities in their several Stations to divert the Danger, may in Reason be said to betray their Country, as much as those very Men who have form'd the most desperate Designs against it. They may promise themselves the Benefit of an Indulgence as the Reward of their Inactivity; but let them all rest assured this will only last till it comes to their Turn to be devour'd for *Tory-Moderation*, like Death, sooner or later, strikes all that comes in its Way. If the Tories could get a House of Commons to their Mind, this Kingdom would soon be subjected to the arbitrary Government of a Popish King; for they have not a Hereditary Prince, but the Pretender, to set over us. They would pronounce every Thing to be *Seditious* and *Schismatical*. As they did in the Reign of the late blessed Managers, though it would not allow the Subjects to mention their Grievances and Fears; but joining Pride to Insolence, would make our Neck bend to a Yoke not to be endur'd. We have heard of the terrible Effects of *French* and *Irish* Cruelty; and what less could we expect from a Set of Men, obstinately bent on promoting the Interest of one, whose Favourites are *Irish* and *French* Papists, whose Religion is Popery, and his Politicks Tyranny. How did they surround her late Majesty with a Wall of Brass, and committed the Care of the Throne to an insatiable Witch who never admitted any to the Royal Presence, but such as came recommended by a Golden Spell?

From the Claws of these rapacious Harpies, it is every good Subject wishes to see his Majesty secur'd; and how can this be compass'd, but by the Choice of a true *British* Parliament, such as asserted the Revolutionary Constitution in the Impeachment of *Sacheverel*; such as are equally zealous for the Honour of their Prince, and the Liberty of the People, not ready to insult his Title, nor willing to suffer him to be monopoliz'd by his and the Nation's Enemies?

The House of Commons, which was hastily dissolv'd upon the Change of the Ministry four Years ago, express'd on two long Occasions an affectionate Concern for the illustrious House of *Hanover*: They omitted nothing to shew their Fidelity, which

never be forgot by so grateful a Prince as no'r present Sovereign. And when we consider his firm Resolution to maintain the Church of *England*, his Disposition to govern according to our Laws, his great Discernment in penetrating into Men, and his tender Love for his People, we cannot imagine we will desire a Parliament of a Complexion different from that of such an *English* Representative. However the *Tories* may endeavour'd to lessen them in the Opinion and Affection of the *English* Free-holders. It would be endless to enumerate all that Parliament did for the Good of the State, nor was it their Fault they did no more: They had a constant Drawn, a perpetual Clog upon their Proceedings. One, who either through Knavery, or Folly, or both, always cry'd out, *Church, Church, Peace, Peace*; and yet notwithstanding all the Obstructions he threw in, in Spite of all his Shuffling, his Tricks, that Parliament taking Advantage of his Blunders, the only Proof he ever gave of his Talent for Business, provided better for the Publick, and the Security of the Succession in the Protestant Line in a few Months, than the two last did in several Years.

As to the Peace, they'll tell you it lay before the two last Parliaments, and therefore must not be talk'd of: They will shew it was not in every Circumstance as advantageous as might have been obtain'd; that *H—y* puzzled, involv'd it; nay, they will have the Impudence to say, that to this very Peace, this scandalous Treaty, we owe his Majesty's Accession to the Throne. They will pretend, if we had been in War, the *French* would have oppos'd his landing, or have follow'd him with an Army. But this is like the rest of their Assertions. Durst the *French* have fought the Navy-Royal of *England*, and the *Dutch* Fleet, with their *Dunkirk* Squadron? Durst they have spar'd 20 or 30000 Men out of *France*, when his Grace the Duke of *Mariborough* was ravaging *Picardy*, and carrying the Terror, or perhaps the Noise of his Arms to the Gates of *Versailles*? Or could they have transported an Army of 30000 Men in Cock-boats, when an hundred stout Men of War were scow'ring the *British* Seas, and the Remains of their Fleet lay rotting in the Harbours of *Toulon* and *Brest*? They will tell you they were put upon a Necessity of making a Peace, because the Revenue was squander'd away; but they will not say a Word of the twenty Millions they squander'd, or plunder'd, after the War was over. They will say, What would have been the Consequence of continuing it a Year or two longer, since *Bouchain* was the Work of a whole Campaign? But they will not put you in Mind, that the next Year the Confederates,

Confederates, when we had forsaken them, took *Quefnoy*, what can we would have taken *Landrecy* in a Month, had not they been upon the deserted; that they lost the best Opportunity the Allies ever had, to destroy the *French* Army, by the withdrawing of the *British* Irregular Troops. They will not inform you, what the Consequences under the beating that Army, and taking these Towns, had been; and that's Success *Paris*, in eight and forty Hours, might have been under Continued contribution. No: they insinuate, that we must have taken *Staff* *Cambray* one Year, *Valenciennes* another, *Peronne* a third; and what was suppose, as the *Tories* say, the War had lasted those three Years they fell longer, and we had rais'd the 1st Year six Millions, the 2d seven long and the 3d five, as we actually did for the *Treaty of Peace*, which Majesty would have carry'd on the War, should we not then have been they could Masters of *France*? Had not *Philip*, and his Friend the *King* find a valier, been probably at *Rome*? And what Necessity were Faction, under to send *P——r* to *France*, to beg a Peace, when wish they did the same Expence we might have had *Carte Blanche*, and had their Be done what we pleas'd with the Monarchy of *Spain*: Sure shorten were, that none of our Allies would have serv'd us as we serv'd Did not them. They all express'd the utmost Aversion to treat on any other Terms but those of *Gertruydenburg*, which my Lord *T——r* their A —d had certainly obtain'd, had not a Factious Cabal in *England* not desec land, by their treacherous Correspondence in *France*, encouraging the *French* to break off that Treaty, in Hopes of getting a good Prince one, when their Friends came in Play in *England*. This they had those A sure Expectations of by the Divisions the Faction were fomenting, just ting, and the Flame into which they promis'd to put the Nation. And I tion. Did the *Dutch* ever once offer to treat without Participle in Ma pation with us? Did they desert their Friends, or sacrifice a Man them for their private Advantage? Can any Man in his satisfaction Wits say, it would not have been wiser for us, to have continued which nu'd the War two or three Years longer, under the same Expence? pence we were at so long afterwards, than to have made again'd End of it, as we did? And was not that the surest Way to al of have establish'd the Quiet of *Europe* on a solid Basis, and have loud A secur'd King *George* on the *British* Throne? hold of

When one considers the Conduct of the *Tory* Leaders, how People they were the Men who voted against the House of *Hanover* Hearts in the Case of the *Security Clause*; how they refus'd his Majesty's Highness's Writ to sit in Parliament; how they insulted the *Hanover* Ministers here, and always oppos'd his present Majesty's Intest's before he was King, one is confounded to think Distin with what Face they can pretend to have any Affection for his Majesty's Person or Government; and what should hinder the Nation who h singling them out as Objects of Displeasure; and much more and h
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oy, what can bias the Country to chuse them? What did they do
 een on the Queen's Death? Does not the *Staff*, as his Hireling
 er has christned him, tell us, they were in the utmost Confusion
British Irresolution? Did their Sorrow for her Majesty's Decease
 ences under their flying out into Transports of Grief for his Maje-
 ad the's Succession? Did not some of them cry out, *We are undone*,
 Contend others swear, *We'll have France and the Pretender*? Does
 take the *Staff* tell us, they were in a *black Cabal*, where every thing
 ; and was Treason against their Country? Does he not inform us
 Year they fell in with the Loyal *Whigs*, who would not be kept out
 severely longer from Council on that Ocaseion in proclaiming his
 whi Majesty, with all possible Regret, and purely because they found
 e be they could not prevent it? Were not the *Whigs* in Raptures,
 e to find a new Deliverer arise, to rescue them from a merciless
 re Faction, from Racks, Prisons, and Tortures? The *Tories* said
 why they did not think they had Reason to be so transported; and that
 had their Behaviour to a Princess, whose Days, the *Staff* says, they
 e shorten'd, should be their Recommendation, and not their Crime?
 erved Did not the same Faction, to shew their Respect to the illustri-
 a and House of *Hanover*, refuse to pay his Troops in *Flanders*
 T their Arrears, 'till after the Queen's Death, because they would
 En not desert the Army of the Allies? And was an House of Com-
 ragions, capable of such an Act of Injustice, worthy to meet a
 good Prince to whom they had been so unjust? For if the paying
 had those Arrears, after his Majesty's Accession to the Crown, was
 nem just Act, the refusing to do it before, was an unjust one:
 N And I cannot think that Men, who had affronted and injur'd
 ric his Majesty so notoriously, deserv'd a Place at his Inauguration,
 if for a Medal to remember it. Did they not express their Dis-
 his satisfaction to the Persons and Proceedings of the *Regents*, with
 nti which his Majesty and the whole Nation were entirely satis-
 Exy'd? But notwithstanding their partial Resentments, all re-
 main'd quiet, and the People impatiently waited for the Arri-
 y val of the King. Arrive he did at last, and was receiv'd with
 vav loud Acclamations from all Quarters; and his Majesty took
 hold of the first Opportunity to shew himself a Father of his
 not People. The Fame of his Wisdom had fill'd the Mouths and
 ved hearts of all before he came; and how could that Wisdom
 s have exerted it self more, than his putting the Ministry into the
 the hands of those Great Men whom he knew to be his Friends
 ajed from Principle and Affection. True it is, his Majesty made no
 in Distinction of *Whig* or *Tory*, but met all with an open Counte-
 nance who came to welcome him, excepting only two or three,
 on who had dipt deepest in the Guilt of the late ill Management.
 or And how could a wise Prince meet such Offenders, without
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shewing an inward Reserve, some just Mark of Prejudice, and Remembrance of past Disobligements? But this Coldness was shewn to so few, and those so hated, that his Majesty gain'd the Hearts of all that approach'd him, who by their joyful Looks made it appear, that he entirely answer'd their Wishes.

Some of the disaffected Party seem'd to dislike the Dismissal of O——nd's being remov'd, tho' it was only to restore a General, to whom the Nation has the greatest Obligations, to Command, from which he had been most unreasonably and unworthily displac'd. They say the D. of O . . . could not have void obeying Orders, and refusing to fight the *French* in 1711, when the Confederates might have done it with such an Advantage. And they cry, Would not the D. of M . . have obey'd Orders? Yes, doubtless, had it been to have charged the *French* Army at the Head of his own Battalions only; I dare say the D. of M—— would not have left *England*, nor go on so pacifick an Expedition, nor have carry'd over a Commission, that enjoin'd him to abandon the Confederates, nor have kept his Battoon, had such Orders been sent him.

And whereas it is pretended the D—— of O—— was discharged from his Employ with Marks of Disrespect, they deceive you who tell you so; for never was a General dismiss'd from Command with greater Deference to his Person. Nor has there been any Thing omitted to give Content to a Lord, whom the disaffected Party pretend to honour above all others; yet at the same Time they extol his Worth, they do it an Injury, by mingling with their Encomiums the vilest Detraction on a greater Lord, whom when I so call, I am satisfy'd his other Grace will not set himself against the Sense of all *Europe, Ireland*, and accuse me of Partiality. They will exclaim against the D——'s losing the Lieutenantcy of a large County; but I must tell you, there have not been above two Knights of the Shire chosen for it since the Revolution, who were not profess'd Enemies to Revolution-Principles, the Foundation of the present Government.

Tho' the *Faction* complain of Removals, and, by the Way, the Loss of their Places, is all they mean by Church Grievances, &c. yet 'tis fresh in our Memory, what a terrible Change they made some Years ago, and that they made little less than Treason to whisper a Word against the Power of the Prerogative. That Change was not on a Demerit, when Changes always are expected; not to turn out Enemies and take in Friends, not to remove Knaves and Fools, and admit Men of Capacity and Honesty; but the very Reverse. That whole Set of Ministers had been applauded in Address

from the Parliament to the Throne, and from almost all the Counties and Boroughs in *England*; and those that succeeded, and never a good Word from a good Man in their Lives. Yet, to mutter against the Right of the Sovereign, in giving of Place, was thought so heinous, that a Man could not drop a Hint of the Unreasonableness of it, but he was stigmatiz'd for a seditious Republican; and had suffer'd accordingly, had Information been given against him. None were then left at Court but a few Trimmers, who can turn with every Wind: None were in Favour, but such as had been in eminent Disfavour with King *William*. You should not see a Scoundrel, who had no Employment under the former Administration, and could talk loudly of the Church's Danger, of Hereditary Right, and rail at the Revolution and Toleration, but he expected to be advanc'd as a *Sufferer for the Church*, which was the Vogue to recommend all that were to make their Court. This you would hear Hundreds repeat with all the Gravity in the World; and, which was more extraordinary, they expected to be believ'd, tho' they themselves knew it was all Farce from the Beginning to the End. This was said and acted every Day at St. *James's*. If one should turn our View to the Management of the *Faction* in *Ireland*, what a Primate, what a Chancellor, what Judges and Justices shall we find there? I have that Respect for the Character of the first, that I shall leave it as I found it. As for the Chancellor Sir C—P—, what was his Merit, but his pleading for the *unalienable Right*, in Opposition to King *William's*, and his present Majesty's? What rare Governor he made, may be seen in the Addresses from *Ireland*, which name him as the Author of all the Distractions under which that Kingdom has labour'd? How many hundred, if not thousand Men, were list'd, during his Administration, in the Service of the Pretender? And when the Castle of *Dublin* was crowded with such Priests as *Swift* and *Higgins*, had not Mr. *Molesworth* good Reason to say, *They that have turn'd the World upside down, are come hither also*? If the House of Lords repented it, you must remember that House was then compos'd of twelve *Irish* Bishops, and about ten Lay-Peers, and were the same who oppos'd the Protestant House of Commons in *Ireland*, who were proceeding in a Parliamentary Manner against P—s for his tyrannical Government, particularly with Respect to the City of *Dublin*, whose Rights and Privileges he so scandalously invaded.

I might take Notice, that all Parts of that Kingdom suffer'd under his Tyranny; that the Friends to the Revolution were every where turn'd out of Place and Commission, and

the most suspected of the new Converts put in their Places. That those Converts continu'd to associate with rigid Papists, and did nothing which shew'd any Sign of Conversion in Principle or Inclination.

Such was the Fate of that miserable Nation, and Scotland was in no better a Condition; so that it must be allow'd that the Tories were the best State-Engineers in the World; they shew'd, with chain'd Bullets, and mow'd down whole Kingdoms before them. The Court believ'd all they did was right, and that the Whigs could not be too ill us'd.

Whence this Infatuation sprung, and how it took Root, whether it was the Effect of a Southerly Wind four Years ago, and of French Air; whether of M—m's ordinary Witchcraft, or A—'s Lessons, I will not take upon me to say; perhaps there might have been a *quantum sufficit* of both. I know there are some that unriddle the Secret in this Manner: They say, that before *Sackeverel* was try'd and condemn'd, H— had found Means to have private Conferences with her, M—y; that he put the Doctor on preaching, and the Commons upon impeaching him, on Purpose to set the Nation on fire, a Flame, and raise a Clamour against the Ministry. That the Change was agreed upon, whether the Priest had preach'd, or been try'd or not: That it was resolv'd by H—y, and his Cabal, who were to be remov'd, and who to be employ'd. As particularly, that the D— of M—h, who had for many Years together been beating the French from one End of Europe to the other, should be disgrac'd: That my Lord T—, who had provided so well, by the Barrier Treaty, for the Security of Holland, and the Interest of his own Country, should be recall'd, and the Lord Str— sent to bully the *Hogans*. These Things are asserted, and with good Ground, the Effects having admirably well answer'd the Cause. Certain it is, the Whigs never gave any just Handle for their Disgrace. They never discover'd the least Dislike to the House of H—r; and their dutiful Behaviour to the Person of the Queen, however it has been misrepresented, was such, that her Majesty was pleas'd to say of one of the displac'd Ministers, very much abus'd by the Faction, *That she never knew any one behave himself with Respect to her more like a dutiful Subject, and an accomplish'd Gentleman.*

It is very material to our Purpose, to enquire who were the Authors of the Discountenance and Injustice the Whigs met with, 'tis highly necessary to look back, that by considering past Perils, we may prevent future, and take Care not to trust any such wicked Men again. It behoves every honest

cess to examine into the Merit, the Views, the Interests of
 those that stand Candidates for Members of Parliament, and to
 choose for such only as have always been zealous for the Prote-
 stant Succession and Interest. Upon this Foot if you proceed,
 you will generally find the *Whigs* Men of more Honour and
 Religion, truer to their Country, and less addicted to the
 Church, than their Competitors: Their Views and Designs
 are better with the Acts of Settlement and Toleration, than
 any of their Rivals. In the Name of God therefore, let all
 the Persons in *England*, that have Votes to give, declare for a
 Protestant-Parliament.—— If the Reverse of all that be true, with
 regard to the *Tories*; if they are debauch'd in Principle,
 crafty and corrupt in Morals; if they are Blunderers in Business, and
 given to Bribery; if their avow'd Designs tend to the Over-
 throw of the Constitution, and at the same Time it be their
 Interest to pursue those Designs; while the only reasonable
 Prospect, the only Safety the *Whigs* can propose to themselves,
 consists in the Preservation of our Religion and Laws, as now
 settled: If this, I say, be the Case; then, I presume, it will
 follow, that it is the Interest both of the Church and People of
 the *England*, not to chuse *Tories* for the ensuing Parliament.

The Argument will appear the stronger, the better you
 weigh the several Branches of it.

As to the Merits of each Side, there is not a Wretch of
 common Sense, common Honesty in *England*, that will put
 them upon an Equality. Take Man for Man, you will find
 among the *Whigs*, more Men of Honour, Conscience, Sobrie-
 ty, and Charity, than among the *Tories*; which I conceive no
 body will deny, who considers, that the Body of the *Tories* is
 made up of Drunkards, Swearers, Whorers, Persecutors, Fox-
 hunters, and Papists. Give me Leave to say, my Lord C——,
 at least as equitable a Dispenser of Justice, and one of as much
 Morals as his Successor and Predecessor; you must then add to
 the Scale a superior Genius in Law, Eloquence, and Affairs of
 State. Let me tell you, that the D. of M—— has as much
 Courage, Honour, Integrity and Wisdom, as his Grace of
 M——, which I believe will scarce be disputed: To his Ac-
 count must be further plac'd, by Way of Advantage, an hundred
 Successories, without one Retreat, from the common Enemy the
French. Let me assert, that my Lord T——'s Eloquence and
 Abilities are as bright as L. B——'s; to the former's Cha-
 racter must surely be added Virtue, Fidelity, and the Merit he
 has acquir'd by his Negotiations abroad, so much to the Interest of
 the *England*, and the Satisfaction of our Allies, in the *Barrier* and
 other Treaties. I am sure there is not a *Tory*, who ever heard
 of

of Mr. B——ly and General S——pe, but will allow the latter to be as much a better Statesman as he is a General, and not inferior to the *Traveller*, Mr. B——y, in Learning, Honour, good Sense, and Zeal for the Constitution.

Having thus taken a View of the Men, let us examine what Designs it is likely, according to Appearances, to Mens past Conduct and Profession, and their present Mien, each Party hath in View. There is one Point, and I believe but one wherein they both seem upon the Square with each other, and that is with Respect to Employments. To confess the Truth I am of Opinion, neither Side hath ought to say against the other upon this Head; both have shewn an equal Concern for themselves, and Contempt of others; both have been earnest to get *Advocates* when they wanted them; and both have alike abandon'd them when their Turn was serv'd; both have made fair Promises, when out of Power, and have been far short of Performance when in; both have justly incurr'd the Scandal of *Ungrateful*; and as the Quarrel is *Personal*, both deserve to be as much despis'd as they despise; but as it is *General*, as it is the Cause of *Whig* and *Tory*, *Liberty* and *Slavery*, every honest Man will strip that Cause of the *Persons*, and defend it as he thinks it merits to the utmost of his Ability. They will detest those vile Prostitutes, who desert their Friends, and renounce their Principles, to creep into a warm Place; who carry themselves as insolently in it, as they did courteously out of it; who are never at Home when they are *Ministers*, and never Abroad when they are *Sufferers*.

To the eternal Honour of some among us, Places and Pensions have been rejected, when proffer'd upon base Terms; so that still, as deprav'd as we are, there are *Englishmen* Proof against the Witchcraft of Favour, and above the Power of Gold, Examples rare, and the more worthy our Admiration. I am sensible I shall offend the Modesty of those Great Men who have thus signaliz'd themselves, if I presume to name 'em; but as much as I honour them, I regard my Country more, and think it fit *England* should know, that the Earl of Sun——ne refus'd a Pension of three thousand Pounds a Year, when he was remov'd from the Secretary's Place, in which the Earl of D——h, who had always been a staunch Churchman, succeeded him, and did what was desir'd of him. That the Lord C——r would not come into the late Scheme, to keep the Great Seal, which was offer'd, to buy him off from the Interest of his Country, but stood his Ground, with that unshaken Firmness and Integrity which has always distinguish'd his Character. But not to lay too great a Stress upon the few Instances

that can be produc'd of this Kind, we will consider what De-
 mands the *Whigs* charge upon the *Tories*, and what the *Tories*
 charge upon the *Whigs*, with the Grounds of the several Accu-
 sations.

Some *Whigs* say, and have said these thirty Years, that the
Tories have had it in their Intentions to introduce Popery and
 Slavery; that they have been Enemies to King W——m,
 and obstructed all his Measures; nor have they been able to
 improve it. They pronounce them *Jacobites*, and instance
 their opposing the making the Prince of *Orange* King, the As-
 sociation, the two Wars with *France*, the Abjuration-Oath, &c.
 The *Whigs* say, the *Tories*, during the late Administration, pre-
 fer'd profest Enemies to the House of *Hanover*, turn'd all their
 most zealous Friends out of the Fleet and Army, threaten'd the
Whigs with a *Coup de Grace*, as the *Examiner* call'd it, or, as a
 good *Englishman* would have phras'd it, a *Massacre*, and as-
 sure you, that if King *George* had not been proclaim'd on the
 11th of *August*, precisely between the Hours of One and Three,
 twelve Hours later, we must have all sunk, Religion, State,
 Protestant Succession, and all. Others go farther, and argue
 with good Sense, that they could not help being *Jacobites*, be-
 cause it was their Interest. That they had all along appear'd
 against the House of *Hanover*, and the Confederacy, and there-
 fore it was natural they should have Recourse to *France* and
 the Pretender. The Truth is, they continu'd firm in their En-
 gagements, and the Generality of the Kingdom seem'd fully
 sensible how much they merited the Reproaches that were then
 made 'em, and the Treatment they have since met with; that
 they had been trafficking in unjust Designs, which, no doubt,
 will be prov'd upon them, the Traytors seiz'd and examin'd,
 and Papers and Evidence produc'd, while they have nothing to
 vindicate themselves with, but matchless Impudence, and an
 Intrepidity in Lying. The *Whigs* indeed have always been of
 so merciful a Disposition to bring Offenders to condign Pu-
 nishment; they were never diligent enough in this Search,
 or else *Greg* had not been the only Traytor who had
 wrong for it in the last Reign. But if this Lenity should be
 continu'd, if no Enquiry should be made, the Enemies to the
 Government will cry, 'tis because there are no such Things in
 reality.

How notably the *Tories* argue, when, to save their Leaders,
 they say, Suppose they had laid such a traiterous Scheme; yet
 since it is now broke, they ought to be trusted again, to ena-
 ble them to accomplish such another. If so, then, and then
 why, should you be inclin'd to send them to Parliament; if
 you

you would have an End put to your Constitution; if you had not would lose your Protestant King, your Religion, and Liberties; take if you would have the Pretender, the Mass, and wooden Shoes the send his good Friends the Tories to represent you. But if you would have the Church of England, and the Rights and Privileges of the People secur'd to you and your Posterity, chuse for the Whig House of Commons, who will be both able and willing to do it.

For supposing you had just such another Jacobite House of Commons as the last, which pass'd the Schism-Bill, and confirm'd the Peace, how might the Constitution be prejudic'd hereafter? What Steps would they take? What would they do with our Funds, our Allies, our Ministers? And what Hopes could we have, but in the House of Lords, which we hope will be thoroughly Whig, or English, as Heart can wish? Is it for Majesty's Interest, that a Parliament in which his Royal Highness was refus'd his Seat, as much his Right as ever it was to the Prince of Denmark's? Is it, I say, for the King's Interest, to meet those Men that so injur'd his Son? No surely. There is no Question but the Lords will be true to the Interest of King and Kingdom; that 'tis out of the Tories Power to shake Majesty's Possession; yet in Revenge they would serve him as Spain they did King William, obstruct his Measures, and not enable him to perfect those Treaties, which are for the Good and Safety of England.

If Mardyke was fortify'd with a thousand Cannon, Dunkirk rebuilt; if the Netherlands were invaded by the French; if the Spaniards were over-running Portugal; if the Pretender was forming an Army in Lorrain, under the Protection of France, the Tories would never be for a War. They own that the Whigs are in the right when they say so. They are Free of the Conquests of the last War Knight-Errantry: They make merry at our Victories, Thanksgivings, and Prayers, crying 'twas huzzaing one Day, and fasting another; and most absurdly assert, that the gaining of several Battels, 100 Towns and 1000 Miles of Country in all the Parts of Europe, will not answer 500000 l. Expence, as one of their most topp'd Authors with inconceivable Impudence assures us in a late Tract. They rail against Land-Expeditions, because 'tis the only Way of prejudicing the French; they having no Fleet to destroy, nor Trade to interrupt, worth the maintaining of a Nation of Men of War: They are never for a standing Army, but when they are sure 'twill be made Use of to enslave us; witness the 20000 Men they gave King James; and Sir Christopher Mordaunt grave said in the House of Commons, 'Twas a deplorable Crime.

if you had no more. They are for no General who *delights in War*,
 certainly takes more Pride and Pleasure in beating our common En-
emies the French Abroad, than in a pacifick *Batoon* at Home.
 if you account none *Traytors*, but those who have been true to
 Prime Government ever since the Revolution, and have evidenc'd
 their Fidelity by their Blood. The two greatest Offenders
 willing them, are, the D— of M— and Earl of Or—d;
 the one for his Victories in *Flanders*, the other for his Victory
 at *La Hogue*. In every Article of their Conduct, the Interest
 of *France* and the *Pretender* is at the Bottom. By *Church*, they
 could mean *Persecution*; by *Hereditary Right*, the *Chevalier de St.*
George; by *Landed Interest*, *Places and Preferments*; and by
courts in Parliament, *Pensions and Bribes*.

What they charge the *Whigs* with, are a Parcel of stale
 thread-bare Lyes, or new visionary Objections, which have
 no Foundation in Fact or Reason.

They say the *Whigs* are for an immediate War, which is a
 restye: The *Whigs* are not for any but a necessary War, and
 when a one as the Voice of the Nation shall put them upon,
 whether now or hereafter. We were, 'tis true, shamefully be-
 tray'd by the late Peace, and our Trade given up to *France*
 and *Spain*; which are Matters fit only for the Consideration of
 a Free *English* Parliament, such as we expect from Free *English*-
 men. The *Tories* say, the *Whigs* want a War to secure their
 Power, which is another Lye. The Power of the *Whigs* de-
 pends on the Favour and Wisdom of their Master, and the
 Election and Choice of his People. Whether Peace or War,
England cannot be safe, but in the Hands of those that are
 anxious for the Protestant Interest, for the King's, and the
 Nation's; and whether *Whigs* or *Tories* are most so, let all
 the Freeholders of *England* judge impartially, and shew it by
 their Votes. The *Tories* say, the present Power of the *Whigs* is
 the Consequence of the Wars in the two late Reigns; which is
 another Lye. The present Power of the *Whigs*, is the Con-
 sequence of their Zeal for the Succession in the illustrious House
 of *Hanover*, for the reducing the exorbitant Power of *France*,
 to Liberty and Property. The *Tories* say, the *Whigs* must and
 will have a War, right or wrong; which is another notorious
 Lye. They never had a War, but what was a just and neces-
 sary one; and they that have three Quarters of the Wealth of
 the Nation in their Possession, can never be in the wrong so
 far as to enter into an Unjust or Romantick one.

The *Whigs*, if they can procure a House of Commons to
 their Minds, will shew how intirely they are of his Majesty's
 Obedience, deliver'd in his Declaration, to maintain the
 Churches

Churches of *England* and *Scotland*, as they are by Law established. They are averse to *Superstition* and *Persecution*, give no intire Assent to the Creeds and Articles of the Church, have the greatest Veneration for the Bishops and Clergy, except such only as by their Principles and Practices are a Dishonour to their Profession, such as have neither Piety nor Prudence, Learning nor Vertue, Sense nor Charity : Such, in a Word, *Sack—l, H—g—s, Sm—b, Mil—n*, and the rest of them, are the High-flying Order. They are rather for increasing, than lessening their Revenues, to put them above Temptation and Contempt. They would indeed restrain the License of the Pulpit, as it tends to foment Divisions, and is dangerous to the State ; and there is not a sober, wise, and religious Clergy-man in the Kingdom, but approves and desires it. They are for maintaining the Rights of the Bishops, as well the Convocation as Parliament ; and have shewn their Respect to the reverend Bench, by furnishing it, as far as was in their Power, with such Members as all good Church-men reverence and esteem for their great Piety and Merit.

It may be objected, that so many black Articles ought to be charg'd upon the *Tories*, without good Evidence or Proof. It is true, they ought not ; and therefore I am so fully convinc'd of it, that I will give up all I have said for mere Flattery and Slander, if you can name one single Man among their Leaders, who is neither a Bigot or Debauchee, a Persecutor, or a Rake, notoriously disaffected to the Constitution, as founded upon the Revolution. Among all who call themselves staunch *Tories*, name me the Man I can prove to be an inveterate Enemy to Moderation and Liberty of Conscience, and I will be a Convert that Instant to the Cause.

Things being thus, may we not fairly conclude, that were these Enemies to the *Revolution* and *Toleration* have again a Majority in Parliament, they will drive on to destroy that's built on those Foundations ? Suppose, for Instance, the next was to be intirely a *Tory*-Parliament, as that which passed the *Schism-Bill*, would they make any Scruple of depriving the *Whigs* of their Votes in Elections, and disabling them from holding the Places they had turn'd them out of.

If we had no other Consideration, but the Security of the *Church of England*, to sway with us not to chuse *Tories* to represent us, it would have Weight enough with any thinking Man : For as they are by Principle, if they have any Principles at all, for the *Divine, Hereditary, Unalienable, Indivisible Right*, they must of Consequence be for the Pretension, and

from I suppose they will not now call an *Impostor*, as they did so plentifully enough in the last Reign. And can you imagine that a Papist, bred up by the most bigotted and tyrannical Men of all Popish Courts, and altogether a most bitter Enemy to our Religion and Nation, would not, were it in his Power, establish Popery, not out of Conscience, but out of Revenge, for the Treatment he has met with from the Protestant Church of England. Besides, *Torism* and *Popery* in many Things differ only, as that which is absurd differs from that which is more so; and if ever the *Tories* should gain their Ends, and get a Parliament to their Minds; if the Pretender was introduc'd by them, and this Constitution subverted, there would soon be an End of the purest Church in the World.

I explain my self, that by *Tories*, I do not mean those true and zealous Sons of the Church, who are Enemies to *Fanaticism* on a religious Account only, who are for maintaining all just Rights, and rather for enlarging, than abridging them, who were instrumental in the Revolution, or Approvers of that Cause, and are now loyal and dutiful to his Majesty: these *Tories* are as good *Englishmen* as any in the Kingdom: the *High-Flyers* and *Jacobites* treat them as rudely as they do the *Whigs*, because they are not for *Persecution*, nor were they giving away our Trade to the *French*; because they vote as they think it for the Interest of their Country, and not for the Men as the Faction would impose upon them. True, some of these well-meaning Men have frequently been misled by Misrepresentations, and carry'd away with the Stream, when the *Church-Peal* has been rung in their Ears, to vote for her as their Priests have said were her true Sons, tho' perhaps they did not visit her a tenth Part so often as their Opponents. When *Tories*, I all along mean those that under Pretence of the *French's Danger*, which they know to be a *Lye*, continue the same they began upon the Change of the old Ministry, in favour of *France* and the Pretender; who would sacrifice Religion, Liberty, Property, and every Thing to their Avarice and Ambition. These are the Men I desire the Reader to understand always, when I name the Word *Tories*, the Disciples of *Lesley*, *Hicks*, *Welton*, *Smith*, and others, Scandals to our Country and Religion.

That our Ruin would be inevitable, were the *Hereditary* Principle to take Place, no Man in his Senses can question. Besides, the *Chevalier's French* Education, his Hatred of our Constitution, as well as Church, who has he about him but such who would rather still starve Abroad, than come Home on any

other Terms than establishing Tyranny, to massacre and enslave all true Lovers of our Country? But supposing their Misery had taught them better, and they would be afraid of another 30 Years Banishment, it were sufficient to frighten from trusting those that are for his Interest, were we to imagine he had none but *Jacobite Tories* about him. Are they not always preaching up an uncontrollable Power, and that the Prince should command the Lives, Liberties, Fortunes, nay, and Wills of his Subjects? What would be the Issue of that, but Bondage and Poverty, without the Comforts of Religion to support us? For our Churches would be soon shut up, or turn'd into Popish Temples, our Common-Prayer into the Mass, our Trade into Beggary, and our Lands into a Wilderness. What would become of the landed Interest, when the Hands that it depended on are either murder'd or banish'd? What would become of Property, when 'twas at the Mercy of a *Jacobite Ministry*? What of Religion, when it had no Security but the good Nature of the *Pretender*? All these Terrors are, God be thank'd, distant; and ever distant they will be, if the Freeholders of *England* vote now for good Protestants and good Subjects; Men who practise Obedience, tho' they do not assert it to be always passive, and distinguish between Revolutional and Republican Principles. Representative of contrary Sentiments, would immediately rivet our Destruction; it would come upon us like an armed Man; how could they effect it, without their *Dernier Resource*, the Assistance of *France*? which that they were making sure of, one need not be at much Pains to prove to you: Why else were *P——r* and *M——r* sent to *France* before the Peace? Why were all the Confederates disgusted in the Peace? Why was *St. J——* dispatch'd to *Versailles*, to be closeted and conferred by *Lewis* the XIV, when the *Chevalier* was acknowledged King at *St. Germain's*? Why was *D—— H——* pick'd out to go Ambassador to him, a Man known to be as zealous for his Interest as any in the three Kingdoms and who, as *Lock——t* says in his *Memoirs*, had engag'd to fight his Way from *Lancashire* to *Edinburgh*, to meet him and join him? In a Word, why were the late Managers put at the Helm, if it had not been to mortify, humble, and weaken the *Dutch*, the Guarantees for the *Protestant Succession*, and cajole and strengthen the *French*, who for almost 30 Years had harbour'd two Pretenders to this Crown, while the Laws of God and Man had set upon other Heads? I cannot here avoid mentioning again one of the *Prime*

the

those Managers S—, who had so great Influence upon the past Measures, and to whom, as much as to any Man living, our late Misery may be imputed: He it was that encourag'd most, if he was not the original Contriver of that curs'd Scheme of withdrawing our Troops from the Confederate Army, an Evil which perhaps our Grand-children will not be able to remedy. He was active in the Treaty of *Utrecht*, which destroy'd all the Advantages of the late War, and all the good Effects of our Victories. He promoted the Bill of Commerce all he could, and, no doubt, would have promoted any other *French* Bill, after the *French* King had given such a fine Account of his *Parts and Person*. If this Man, or any Brother-in-Law of his, should plead with you for your Votes in *Berkshire*, *Wiltshire*, or any other Shire in *England*, will you give 'em to them, after what I have remember'd you of concerning him? I say remember'd, because I'm satisfy'd you knew all of it before, he was far from dealing doubly with us. His Looks, his Life, his Pride, and Power, all had one Bent; and he was so far from hiding his Hatred to the House of *H—r*, that he miss'd no Opportunity of insulting their Friends. It has pleas'd Heaven to put an End to our Fears, and shall we bring them upon us again, by taking the old Snakes into our Bosoms? We owe to our second Deliverer King *George*, this Mark of our Duty and Affection, to send none to meet him in Parliament, but those that distinguish'd themselves in the worst of Times, by their Zeal for his Succession.

I do insist upon it, that without a *French* Power, the Enemies to this Government and Ministry can never succeed in their trayterous Projects; for tho' the inferior Clergy and Multitude be vitiated to a strange Degree, yet there is still an old *English* Spirit in the People, which I hope will exert it self in the ensuing *Elections*, in Opposition to the factious Spirit conjur'd up by *Sacheverel*, and such mutinous Priests in their riotous Progresses. 'Tis hop'd the Moderation of the Government in the Prosecution of some of his Rioters at *Bristol* and elsewhere, will have that good Effect, that the Offenders, in Gratitude for such extraordinary Clemency, will give no more Provocation to Justice, but will take Example by their Brethren now in Gaol at *Bristol*, under a very moderate Punishment for a very enormous Crime; that they will think of those that have run their Country for the Riot there committed, whom else no Mercy could reasonably have sav'd from the Gallows, for having murder'd a peaceable

peaceable Citizen, who only came to perswade them to Peace.

There will be a very great Cry among you about *Foreigners*: The Reason is, the staunch *Tories* are afraid of every Body that comes into *England*; for that, as they affirm, they all turn *Whigs*, and always will do so, unless they are *French* and *Papists*. There are not such a *Seet* in the *Protestant* World as our *English Tories*; all *Protestants* are in Love with Liberty, where-ever they meet with it, and embrace every Tenet which advances Christian-Charity. Almost all *Protestants* Abroad are industrious, great Lovers of Trade, and jealous of their Property, when 'tis secur'd to them by Laws. They all act like honest and wise Men, and of course they must be *Whigs*. When you hear the *Tories* complain of *Foreigners*, tell them they made no Complaint of the Army of *French* and *Irish* Priests and *Papists*, which invaded us after the *Utrecht-Peace*. Tell them the Duke *D'Anmont* brought over with him ten times as many *French* Men, in his *Lewis d'Ors* Embassy, as King *George* has brought *Germans*. These Men seem mightily concern'd, that his M——y has a *Profelyte Turk* or two about him, who have faithfully serv'd him ever since he brought them from *Hungary*, where he was valiantly fighting for the Christian Religion, while King *James* was establishing *Popery* in *England*: But they did not say a Word, when *Laures*, the *Irish* Agent for the *Pretender* at *Madrid*, chang'd the Scene of his Agency to *London*, and had Access in the most endearing Manner to the Ministers. I will shew the Faction, that the *Whigs* have Manners, and will confine that Access to the Living. The Act of Limitation excludes all *Foreigners* from Employments, let them have deserv'd ever so well of our King; and that Act stands as firm as any Statute in our Law-Books. The Faction cannot charge the Court with giving up the Rights of *Englishmen* to Outlandish People; and yet of these Outlandish People, I could name you many who have done more Service to our Country, and who love its Liberty and its Religion more than Nine in Ten of the most zealous Sticklers for the *Divine Right* and *Church-Independency*. Farther; what, I pray, is their *Pretender*, but a *Foreigner*? Is he ever the better an *Englishman*, for having been rock'd four or five Months in an *English* Cradle, and been bred six or seven and twenty Years in a *French* Court? Therefore, honest Freeholder, as often as thou hearest the *Tories* cry out against *Foreigners*, remember 'tis only because they dare not cry out against the King. They did the same in King *William's* Time, and

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with the same Reason, because King *William* deliver'd our Church and us from the Danger they had brought us all into of Popery and Slavery. If ever they talk of the *Palatines*, put them in Mind of the 10000 *French* and *Irish* Soldiers, that were to have been transported from *Dunkirk* to *Scotland* about six Years ago, for the Service of their Cause: Or of the *Irish* Army they sent for, to settle that Slavery and Popery which King *James* was bringing upon us. The *Palatines* were *sluggish*. The *Irish*, as *sluggish* as they are in their own Country, would doubtless have been busy in ours, to plunder our Houses, and possess themselves of our Estates. If this Argument has not much Weight with it, 'tis at least as much to the Purpose, as the Clamour of the *Tories* for the *Palatine* Invasion, as if they had come to conquer us. For as to eating our Bread, they have not consum'd the hundredth Part so much as has been traiterously transported to feed the *French*, when they were at War with us to destroy our Church, Trade, Liberty, and all. Besides, it has been prov'd in many Discourses, and on many Occasions, that People are the Riches of a Nation, and that no Trading Nation ever rejected a Law of *Naturalization*: Nay, 'tis very well known, that the *Dutch* put forth several Edicts, to encourage those very *Palatines* to settle among them; and were not wanting in trying Ways to intercept those that came hither; and I hope it will be allow'd, that the *Dutch*, who are every whit as industrious as our *Tories*, knew what Use to make of those *Palatine* Sluggards, and had as much Reason to be as sparing of their Bread as we, considering there is not the two hundredth Part of the Corn they spend, that's the Growth of their own Country.

It must be own'd, we shall not need to fear either *Germans* or *Dutch*, if we trust the staunch *Tories* with the Government: They will deliver us from the Apprehensions of being eaten up by Protestant Foreigners. If they invite over a *French*-bred Prince, and a *French* Army, 'tis to settle the *Hereditary Right*, and with that *Idolatriy*, and *Tyranny*. Doubtless those *French*-Men would be very glad to be gone again, when they had once tasted the Sweets of *English* Plunder. Would not the Court be worse than ever a *Hounslow*-Camp was? What devouring Locusts would swarm every where in our Streets? and Death would be the welcomest Thing a Man could meet with, to be deliver'd from his Pains and Terrors. If the Pretender did not make his Bastard-Brother, the Duke of *Berwick*, General for Life, there would be Marshals and Generals enough to enslave us to *France*; and we should be

so far from thinking of preserving our Liberties, that no wise Man would think his Life worth keeping. The *Tories* would copy after their Brethren the *Papists*: When they are down, then *Moderation* and *Equality* are the Cry; but when they have the secular Power on their Side, Down with *Presbytery*, down with *Whiggery*; the Cause of the Church will not suffer *Schism* to be establish'd by a Law. Poor Creatures! how long would it be before their *High-Church* would be treated by *Popery*, as much like a *Schismatick*, as *High Kirk* would be. But 'tis so little a Leap from *Torism* to *Popery*, that there's no Danger of their suffering Martyrdom to avoid it, and we should soon see what their Concern for the Church would come to.

What need we mention, that the Press would be stopt, if these *Tories* had the Power; that we should never hear Truth again, without risking our Necks; for to purchase and disperse any Pamphlet writ on the Side of Liberty, would be Treason, and the Punishment such as the *Tory-Jury* procur'd for *Algernon Sidney*, who had dispers'd his Book in his Closet only, and that in Manuscript; who lost his Head for writing an Answer to one of the most villainous Books against our Constitution, that ever was writ? How did the same Faction deal with the Reverend Mr. *Johnson*, for writing his honest half Sheet, address'd to King *James's* Army? How did our Streets ring with the Howlings of tormented Wretches in that, and King *Charles* his Brother's, Reigns, who were whipt and flea'd for daring to speak or write in the Cause of Liberty? And what would a *Tory-Ministry* do under the Direction of a *French Vice-Roy*? For *Perkin* must be contented to be Vice-Roy under such a *Trincalo*. What, I say, would the *Tories* do with all those that should dare write or speak a Word for the Rights and Privileges of the People? If a poor Scribler should be deliver'd of a Pamphlet not to their good Liking, immediately would a Messenger be sent to seize him, and to drag him to *Newgate*; from *Newgate* he would be brought before another such a *Tory-Judge* as their *Jefferies* was; and then the Wretch would have nothing for it, but *Libera nos Domine*.

Observe the different Spirit of the Faction: In all King *William's* Time, there were not above two or three prosecuted for Writing; whereas in five Years of the *Tory-Ministry*, the Era of the *Oxford Decree*, and the Addresses of Abhorrence, there was one Earl's Son put to Death, and 20 Gentlemen prosecuted and punish'd for it, besides Printers, Publishers, and Booksellers. A Paragraph of News, in a Letter

to a Friend, cost Sir *Samuel Barnardiston* a Sentence of 10000 *l.* An angry Word shut Mr. *Pilkington* up in Gaol in an Action of 100000 *l.* and Mr. *Dutton-colt* had the same Treatment for a like Offence. By the Help of their upright Chief Justices, they were grown so terrible, a Man durst not say it was Noon-Day at twelve-a-Clock, lest they should think it to take Offence, and *Jefferys's* Warrant should contradict. Some of the *Tory* Jury-Men, as *Withers*, and others of the Stamp, are now standing Candidates for the next Parliament. Thus have they recommended themselves to their Electors; and if *Englishmen* are weary of sleeping quietly in their Beds, or remaining safe in their Houses; if they would not be haul'd away to Prison for an unguarded Expression against their arbitrary Governors, and be fled by the common Hangman for dropping a Word against Popery or Slavery, let them have a Care how they give a Vote for such were of any of those *Tory*-Juries, or for any of their Assessors. *Jefferys's* Clerk has had the Assurance to stand twice or thrice to represent one of the honestest Boroughs in *England*, *Ailesbury*; and, by the Help of Sir *J— Pack—son's* Constable, he has been return'd. Will any Freeholder give a Vote for such Men? If the extraordinary Commission to try the Rioters at *Bristol*, tho' it was so necessary, gave Offence to the Faction, what Abhorrence should all true *Englishmen* have for those that had a Hand in that bloody *Western* Assize, wherein a thousand good Protestants were either butcher'd, or sent Slaves to the *Indies* by a staunch High-Church Chief-Justice, and his Assistants, all of the same Party.

It is what the *Tories* glory in; and therefore we might avoid mentioning what Affronts they offer'd to the Memory of our Deliverer King *William*, whose Reign was never stain'd by the bloody Scaffold, for that cannot be thought a Stain on which dy'd the notorious and insolent Traytor *Fenwick*: Who never did an unjust Action, and who often chose to suffer Hardships himself rather, than let any of his Subjects think themselves injur'd. Sure if ever Prince deserv'd well of a people, it was King *William*, if Bravery, Wisdom, Clemency, and Justice could intitle him to it. But how was he treated by the *Tories* in his Life-time? How has his Memory been insulted since his Death? How did they affect to triumph over it? What Attempts did they make to blacken his Reputation, almost before he was cold in his Bed, giving out that he was in a Plot to set aside the then Queen? In which I am at a Loss which to be most astonish'd at, the Ingratitude,

tude, Barbarity, or Falsity of it: To him they ow'd their Religion and Liberty, and those of them that had any, their Estates; for Property would have gone, and always will go with Liberty; and yet that they ———; but their whole Conduct is uniform: That vile Reflection was of a Piece with the rest of their Ingratitude, and that is the best one can say of them.

Nothing was omitted by some of their reverend Doctors to asperse his Character; and without pretending to a Spirit of Prophecy, one may foretel the next Parliament, if of a *staunch Tory-Stamp*, will endeavour to fix some lasting Stain upon his Fame, for the invaluable Legacy he left us in the Protestant Succession. But the World and Posterity have done, and will do him Justice; and perhaps the present Age may resent one Time or other the Insults put on his Memory by an insolent ungrateful Faction.

If I have been something warm upon this Head, I cannot but think my self excusable, when I remember the Faction did not observe a common Decency in their Language of him. How ill were all his faithful Servants rewarded? Nor was common Justice done his Domesticks, in Point of their Arrears. Did not the *Drawing-Rooms, Ruels, Coffee-Houses, nay Churches*, ring with open Reflections upon the best of Kings. It is with great Difficulty I can preserve my Temper: For my Part, I shall never be *Frenchify'd* enough to think the worse of King *William*, because he was *Dutch*, nor the better of the *Pretender*, because he is *French*: I could no more rejoice at his Death, than I should at the *Chevalier's* mastering us, which would soon be follow'd with the Funeral of *England*.

I will not frighten the honest Freeholder so much, as to let him imagine there's any Danger of such a *horrid Revolution*. We have God and a good and great King on our Side; and if the *British* Electors add to them a good Parliament, we may safely leave the rest to them. We can desire no greater Blessing in this World: Our Security depends on it. But if they will be blind to their Peril, and put their Safety into the Power of a Faction who so lately betray'd them, they have no Reason to expect a new Interposition of Providence, they having by an Election of a disaffected Representative done all in the Power of Men to deserve the contrary. If they should be so mad, which I must confess I do not much fear, considering the present Posture of Affairs, and the honest Disposition of the Majority, I cannot but think what Calamities must be treasur'd up for us, and

Yokes heavier than our Forefathers were able to bear. By whom these only can be prepar'd and impos'd upon us, I have shewn at length ; and since the Truth of the Fact, and the Reason of the Argument are evident, one would hope there is not an *English-man* in his Senses that will give his Vote for one of those *staunch Tories*, that would be accessary to bring that Yoke upon us; and I dare say, there is not a *staunch Man* in England, but would give himself and his Country into the Hands of the *French*, rather than see the present Administration so establish'd as to make him despair of a *Change*.

It will be of great Use to all Electors, to consider how near we were to our Ruin, that they may endeavour to send such Men to Parliament, as did what they could to prevent it. For this Reason, it may be of Service to consider, that the Dangers and Miseries to which we were expos'd were entirely owing to the *Tories*, who squander'd away twenty Millions, while their Envoys were patching up the Peace with which we are so safe and happy ; and would hinder us, if they could, from making any Alliances for our Defence and Security, in Case their Peace should not be so lasting as the *French King's Bona Fide* may make it. To the *Tories* do we owe the Corruption of our Morals and Principles, and the taking away the Force of all Obligations human and divine. To the *Tories* are we indebted for the Riots, Mutinies, and Insurrections they have executed and attempted, to deprive us of the Blessings we enjoy under the King. To the *Tories* do we owe all this, and a great deal more ; the Ruin of Trade and Reputation, and all the Advantages we might have got by a ten Years glorious War, and the Expence of an hundred and twenty Millions of Money.

These Things it may be of Use to weigh, as also that this is the most critical Juncture ever happen'd; that if the Country errs in their Choice of Representatives now, it may probably be never more in their Power to do themselves Justice on those ill Ministers, whose Administration brought us to the Precipice from which his Majesty's Succession to the Throne prevented our falling. Let every Freeholder seriously weigh these Things ; and then the Sale of his Vote, tho' for a hundred Pounds, will appear a wretched Bargain, since he sells with it an Opportunity of establishing our Protestant Constitution in Church and State for ever.

Notwithstanding all that I have said against the *Tories*, I am far from arrogating to our own Party, all the Sense of

the Nation: But I may venture to affirm, that they have all the political Sense, which is put to any better Use than to serve the Interest of *France* and the *Pretender*.

If the *Tories* could once get the Game in their Hands again, I will not say they would repeal the Triennial Act, as I do not suppose the *Whigs* will do it; but they would render all Parliaments useless, by putting the Majority into Hands that were always Enemies to Parliaments, when they had not by Force or Treachery got Possession of the Power, which they knew how to use so effectually, as to hinder the Parliament doing any Thing against their Interest.

Could one have imagin'd, that after so many Parliaments had address'd the late Queen in Favour of the old Ministers, for securing the *Spanish* Monarchy to the House of *Austria*, and the like, that it would have been possible for any Party to get a House of Commons to vote for a *Peace*, which gave *Spain* to the *Bourbon*-Family, and to approve of the Actions of *Managers*, who by Fraud and Violence had thrust themselves into the Places of the best Ministers that ever Prince or People was blest with?

Can one imagine, that an *English* Parliament should ever be weary of a just, necessary, and victorious *War*, or think it a Crime to conquer and delight in it? That there could be such an Assembly in *St. Stephen's Chapel*, as would address one Day against an Article of State-Management, and the next Day give Thanks for it? Yet these Things, and a hundred more of this extravagant and destructive Nature, have been done to compliment a *Tory*-Administration; and what would not the same Men, or Men of the same Party do to compliment a *Jacobite* one? Therefore the honest Freeholder will now look about him, judge for himself, and not be abus'd by Pretences: When he goes to the Election he will enquire of his Neighbour, if he does not know before-hand, whether any one of the Candidates were for the *Peace*, and the *Commerce-Bill*, to dissolve the Confederacy prevent the reducing the exorbitant Power of *France*, and to ruin our Trade? Whether any one of them, pretending Zeal for the Church, voted for the *Schism-Bill*, which the prime Leader of the *Faction* owns, by himself and his Mercenaries, was brought into Parliament, not for the Church's Sake, but Party-sake, to cause Dissention among the Managers, and bring others not more deserving into Play? That were several thousand Families expos'd to starve, and those Families as good Protestants as any in the World, for the

Faction

action to try their political Pranks by it. Will an *English* Protestant Freeholder vote for a Man, that could come into such a cruel Scheme purely to oblige one or two ill Ministers? Let every good *Briton* then set a Mark on the *Schism-Men*, and on those that turn'd Mr. *Steel* out of the House of Commons, because he had written against the *Pretender*, and indicated the *Protestant Succession*; which he could not do, without falling upon the Ministry that had endanger'd it: Let them not be frighted with visionary Dangers of a *War*, *Foreigners*, of *Presbytery*, of repealing the *Triennial* and *Limitation-Act*; but let them consider seriously, that a *Tory-Majority* would most certainly repeal the *Acts of Right, Indulgence, and Settlement*; that their *Church* would *Persecution*, their *War* with the *Dutch*, and all *Protestant* Friends Abroad, and all their *Foreigners French Papists*: Which brings me also to consider the Merits of each Party more particularly; and upon the whole, we shall find their Deserts to stand thus.

L O N D O N,

Printed for J. ROBERTS in *Warwick-Lane.* 1715.

The

*The Merits of the Whigs.**The Merits of the staunch Tory Faction.*

I.

King William, Queen Mary, and Queen Anne.

I.

The Persecution in King Charles and King James's Reign: The Blood of my Lord Russell, Col. Sydney, Mr. Cornish, &c.

II.

The Protestant Church of England.

II.

King James, and his Attendants Popery and Slavery:

III.

The Toleration, Association, Abjuration, &c.

III.

The Opposition the Abdication, Toleration, Association, Acts of Settlement, War with France, and every Thing tending to the Security of our Protestant Church and Liberty met with ever since the Revolution.

IV.

10 Victories over the French, 100 Towns, and 1000 Miles of Ground taken out of the Map of France.

IV.

The Peace, the Dozen, the Commerce with France and Spain, the Catalans, Maryland, and a new Harbour for a French Fleet in Sight of us.

V.

The Acts of Settlement.

V.

The Tack, the Occasional-Bill, the Schism-Bill, &c.

VI.

The Union.

VI.

A Sponge for all Funds, and a second Exchequer shut up.

VII.

The Guaranty, and 100 other good Treaties Abroad broken *per Contra*.

VII.

The Dispensing Power to set up Will and Pleasure, instead of Law and Justice.

VIII.

King George, and the illustrious House of Hanover.

VIII.

The Pretender, Mass, and Wooden Shoes.

Total.

The Security of Religion, Liberty, and Property,

Total.

No Church, no Trade, no Liberty, no Property, no Kingdom.

*Utrum horum maius accipe,
Chuse which you please.*

F I N I S.